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Empirical Illustration of Social Change in Turkey Through Magazine Advertisements (1965–2014)

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Abstract

This study uses longitudinal content analysis to explore social changes in Turkish consumer culture by analysing 571 magazine advertisements over the 49-year period from 1965 to 2014. This period coincides with changes in economic conditions, in which political and social changes were enacted under a broad trend of economic and consumer globalisation. The analysis evidences the impact of global culture, and Turkey is revealed to be more individualistic than it was 49 years ago. Turkish advertisements are increasingly adopting hedonistic values, and the use of sex appeal, once prevalent, was in severe decline by 2014.

Key Words: Culture, social change, magazine advertisements, longitudinal content

Türkiye’de 1965-2014 Yılları Arasındaki Sosyal Değişimin Dergi Reklamları Üzerinden Ampirik Örneklemesi

Özet

Bu çalışma uzun dönemli içerik çözümlemesi kullanarak 1965-2014 yılları arasındaki 49 yılı içeren 571 dergi reklamını analiz ederek, Türkiye’de tüketim kültüründeki sosyal değişimleri incelemektedir. Bu 49 yıl içinde Türkiye’de farklı ekonomik dönemler yaşanmış, bu süreçte Türk tüketicisinin küreselleşme trendi devam ederken, Türkiye politik ve sosyal değişimlere de sahne olmuştur. Araştırma sonuçlarına göre Türkiye’de 49 yıl öncesiyle karşılaştığımızda küresel kültürün etkisiyle bireycilik değerleri yükselirken, Türk reklamları hedonistik değerleri daha çok kullanmaya başlamıştır. Ancak 1965-2005 yılları arasında yüksek olan seks reklam ekiciliği 2014 yılında ciddi bir düşüş yaşamıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sosyal değişim, dergi reklamları, uzun soluklu içerik analizi.

Introduction and Literature Review

Advertising management theory suggests that advertising reflects the values of society, but also influences cultural values in a recursive formulation. Advertising practices engage in efforts to change the values of local cultures in order to promote consumerism, but may also harness the values of local culture to develop an attachment between the consumer and the brand. International brands may exert particular power, influencing the character of local brands by conveying and perhaps imposing values from one cultural setting to another; such values usually flow from more industrialised to less industrialized countries. Over the long term, characteristics may appear or disappear from advertising practice in ways that reflect this transmission of values between consumer markets.

As a result of an emerging global economy, global culture has affected Turkish national culture and traditional social values particularly since the 1980s, when Turkey changed its economic structure, adopted a liberal stance, and started to import products/services mostly from industrialized countries (Ozturk and Ozyakisir 2005). Today, Turkey's position within a globalized economy is well established with imports of \$207.2 billion in 2014 (Worldbank, 2017). GDP rose significantly from 68 billion dollar in 1980 to 717,88 billion USD in 2015 (Worldbank, 2017).

Globalised consumption suggests an increased transmission of values between cultures, in particular patterns. Commentators suggest that in specific classes of Turkish society, Westernised values have come to dominate specific groups of consumers (Keyman and Koyuncu, 2005). The result is reformed patterns of consumption, attitudes and values, specifically among middle class 'yuppies' that are well-educated and have a high income level, who reveal a deep interest in luxury consumption and a western-orientated luxury lifestyle (Ardinc, 2009).

The population gains social values from social institutions: family, school, mass media, advertisements (Petit and Zakon, 1962). International adverts play a leading role in conveying values from one culture to another, and target middle class consumers across the world (Alden, Steenkamp, and Batra, 1999; Zou and Cavusgil, 2002; Zhou and Belk, 2004). By investigating the values in adverts, the style of consumerism and changes in social values can be monitored in different markets, which develops knowledge that is helpful when developing strategies for international marketing and advertising.

There are many studies that investigate values identified in different cultures (Terlutter, Diehl and Muller, 2010; Albers-Miller and Stafford, 1999; Kalliny and Gentry, 2007), but there are few longitudinal studies that explore changes in those values over the long term (Zinkhan and Hong, 1990; Gurel-Atay, Xie, Chen and Kahle, 2010; Chan, 1999). This study researches Turkish advertising between 1965 and 2014 in order to explore changes including hedonistic, utilitarian, individualistic and collectivistic values, as proxy indicators of social change.

Three thousand years ago traders transported valuable goods such as silk, satin and jewels from the Far East, via routes traversing Persia and Arabia to the Mediterranean coast and Europe. The 'Silk Road' was a route not only transferring goods between continents but also conveying cultures, clothing preferences, and knowledge; thus economic transactions went hand in hand with cultural exchange. Impassioned discussions about globalization and global cultures have emerged in academic and business discourse, particularly since the 1980s, with a particular focus on processes of Westernization, Americanization, and the means by which Western countries exercise power to change the attitudes, behaviours and habits of people in non-Western countries in pursuit of wider markets for their own products and services (Celik-Elmer, Larson, Smart, 2014)

Culture itself is a privileged term, subject to numerous re-inscriptions. While culture is viewed as a dynamic process that may be changed by external or internal factors, core values are commonly treated as relatively static: "When cultures change, the core values remain stable, but a more contemporary interpretation of those core values may emerge" (Lin 2001:92). "Value is an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end state of existence is personally-psychologically or socially-culturally preferable to a converse mode of conduct or an opposite end state of existence" (Levi 1990 cited in Hetsroni 2000:55). "The members of each cultural group share many value-relevant experiences and they are socialised to accept shared social values" (Schwartz, 1999:26). Under such a reading, values assume importance in global advertising because values can be internalised by many individuals in the same culture (Hoeken et al., 2003).

Transmission of values may be a difficult and lengthy process, subject to economic developments, modernization, by maturation and generational effects (De Mooij, 2010). There are many social institutions that transmit consumerised values but advertising plays a major role (Pollay, 1983) and Evan (1976) is among many who note the role of mass communication in the socialisation of consumers: "the expansion of capitalist production necessitated the construction of new markets and the education of publics to become consumers through

advertising and other media” (cited in Featherstone, 2008:668).

While some cultural values may be viewed as so widespread as to be universal (such as family, health, enjoyment, and security), the ranking and importance of these values differs from one culture to another (De Mooji, 1994). In addition, the interpretation of values can be different in every culture. For example, in almost every culture family is a very important value, but in some cultures this finds expression in rules that children cannot go out at night without permission of their parents even if they are in their 20s, while in other cultures this would be understood as restrictive behaviour.

There is a genealogical development of studies which have been adopted as value measurement scales in international advertising and marketing, and which investigate the ranking or existence of different values or consumption differences in various markets (Gregory and Munch 1997; Hoeken et al. 2003). Research studies concerning the use of cultural values for marketing purposes include landmark studies by Rokeach, Kahle and Goff’s LOV and VALS frameworks, and the work of Maslow, Rokeach (De Mooij 1994) and Hofstede’s cultural dimensions (Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov 2010). Hofstede’s cultural dimensions model is the most widely adopted, but attracts the most criticism. The model’s appeal to researchers has led to criticism of studies on the basis that Hofstede has been widely harnessed to research but, too often, imprecisely understood: “new models are quickly embraced without proper analysis of the conceptual content” (De Mooji 2013 p. 260). A further strand of writers take issue with national inscriptions of culture, arguing that applying these concepts to individuals may be misleading in marketing and advertising contexts (Brewer and Vernaik 2012).

Differences in advertising appeals in various cultures have often been examined using Hofstede’s cultural dimensions (Albers-Miller and Gelb, 1996; De Mooij, 1998; Moon and Chan, 2005; Alden et al., 1993; Taylor et al., 1997, Mortimer and Grierson, 2010). The aim of such studies is to adapt Hofstede’s cultural dimension classification to marketing and advertising contexts, in order to categorize cultures according to different countries. In 1983 Richard Pollay developed one of the first measurement value scales to investigate the cultural consequences of advertising for a society. In this study Pollay’s appeal measurement scale was preferred as a tool to analyze the transmission of values and changes within Turkish culture.

Advertising plays different major roles in social context. First, it attempts to change traditional values in line with Westernized values, in order to make a standardized approach to advertising more applicable. Secondly, advertising develops values that support consumerism and consumer culture. It extends a broad proposition that people can reach full happiness by

constant consumption of possessions, and supports materialism as a main value of the society (Pollay, 1986). Thirdly it mirrors society, reflecting social values and responding reflexively to value changes within markets (Holbrook, 1987). In this study we will investigate the transformation of Turkish values over the long term because it is important for advertisers and marketers to track cultural values of a given society in order to develop effective advertising messages (Kalliny and Gentry, 2007). Exploring the values embedded in advertising can give us the opportunity to understand the cultural and social changes of commercialized societies (Pollay, 1983).

Advertising appeals are used in different degrees according to the cultural background of the country (Mueller, 1987) and consist of any message designed to motivate consumers to purchase (Mueller, 1992). Consumers may be motivated by appeals which are closer to their mind-set, lifestyle and cultures, while they may reject advertisements which extend less emotional and rational attachment to them. In other words, all the adverts are culture bound (Hestroni, 2000) and if advertisers like to produce effective ads they need to understand the complex nature of cultures and enact a deep understanding of the social customs of the market: ‘Even the most laconic ad that only lists the qualities of a product is not “culture free” or “psychology free” because the qualities operate in a specific cultural-psychological context and may become ineffective out of this context’ (Hestroni, 2000:55). If the international advertisers ignore the cultural differences and/or produce an advertising campaign based on their own cultural background for different culture, they must consider facing the failures. “Cultural values are the core of advertising messages and typical advertisements endorse, glamorize and reinforce cultural values” (Pollay and Gallagher 1990 cited in Cho et al. 1999:59).

International advertisers use appeals as a force to shape consumer motivations, lifestyle and product choices and also use appeals to reach the local consumers with their own distinctive tone (Tse et al., 1989). So, appeals operate in two ways: they both change and reflect values. In this study we investigated the existence and rating of Richard Pollay’s appeals in Turkish magazine advertising and try to illustrate social changes between 1965-2014 according to hedonistic, utilitarian, collectivistic and individualistic categories. It is also theoretically and societally important to understand more about how the world is or is not becoming globalized through advertising (Zhou and Belk, 2004).

Hypotheses

Based on the related discussions in the literature review, the following hypotheses were tested:

H1: There is a significant change in hedonistic appeals in Turkish magazine advertising over time

Hedonism derives from the Greek word for *delight* and aims to increase the pleasure level and decrease distress. Within consumerism it is directly related with the economic development of markets; a higher level of hedonistic consumption is expected to be seen within more advanced stages of capitalist economies rather than less developed economies (Tse et al. 1989). As absolute levels of consumption rise, utilitarian values of brands tend to decline in importance and consumers in more highly developed economic markets are attracted by values such as joy, leisure, luxury, wealth, and enjoyment. People purchase less for solely utilitarian or objective reasons; a consumer's purchasing and consumption can help create a desired or aspirational reality and can stimulate the senses (Fine, 2010).

The Turkish Republic was founded in 1923 and from the beginning of the republic until the end of World War II its economy was underdeveloped, dependent on agriculture, and economic growth was very slow. "At the core of the republican revolution was a change of values, which articulated itself through the conceptual opposition between "republican" (modern, urban, secular, European) and "islamic" (backwards, rural, religious, Ottoman)" (Sandikci and Ger, 2001:146). During the 1980s the Ozal government changed Turkey's economic structure to one that favoured liberalism, and the government encouraged imports. Global companies increasingly positioned their brands in Turkey, supported by a liberalizing regime, and the traditional Turkish environment began to alter under the effects of Westernization such that "the formation of Turkish modernity since the 1980s has been increasingly marked by the co-existence of economic liberalization and the resurgence of traditionalism" (Keyman and Koyuncu, 2005:109). In the 1990s foreign investment increased dramatically, especially in the service industry and luxury products; deluxe hotels, shopping centres, department stores, fast-food chains (Ardic, 2009).

Turkey's subsequent development has been halting, with many economic disruptions, but today Turkey's GDP is currently 17th in the world, it is a founding member of OECD and the G-20 and is also now classified as a developed country. Over 87 years Turkey has upgraded its economy from underdeveloped to developed. In the marketing literature a country's level of economy can be evaluated according to the extent of hedonic appeals in its adverts (Oyedele et al., 2009). If this approach is true, we would expect hedonistic appeals in the Turkish ads to increase between the years 1965-2014.

Hedonism is a value that has commonly been investigated in international advertising

research (Hestroni, 2000; Oyedele et al., 2009; Tse et al., 1989). To test hypothesis one, the researchers analyzed the other research's coding procedures to match with Pollay's (1983) appeals. Pollay's *relaxation, enjoyment, vain, sexuality, ornamental, dear* appeals were coded to investigate hedonism within Turkish adverts.

H2: The volume of utilitarian appeals in Turkish print advertising tends to decrease over time.

Utilitarian appeals are also related with economic level of the market. If disposable income is high, advertisers are expected to promise a better life, and to emphasize functions of the advertised item as the major benefit. These are rational adverts rather than emotional ones (Tse et al., 1989) and "Rational ads often convey functional values, and are rarely characterized by hedonism or altruism" (Hestroni 2000:65). Utilitarian appeals can be defined as rational appeals (Hestroni, 2000). The content of the utilitarian values includes the satisfaction of basic physiological needs and satisfactory purchase performance (Tse et al., 1989).

Tse et al. (1989) previously defined Pollay's categories *technology, economical, product performance, service availability, widely accepted, performance assurance, ingredients, distribution, variety* and *modern* as utilitarian appeals. *Saving, efficiency, quality, convenience, competition, family, health, modernization, safety, wisdom* and *wealth* are tested as functional appeals in Hestroni (2000). In our research, *family* and *wisdom* were covered as individualistic and collectivistic appeals. Pollay and Belk (1985) coded appeals that show or discuss pragmatic product or service benefits such as practicality, efficiency, cleanliness or hygiene as utilitarian appeals. In this study *cheap, healthy, effective, durable, convenient* and *technological* were coded to analyze the use of utilitarian appeals between 1965-2014.

H3: Collectivist appeals shift to individualistic appeals in Turkish advertising between 1965-2014.

"Individualism and collectivism is one of the key axes of cultural classification, within which the dominant perspective is that the cultures of the East value collectivism more highly than those of the West" (Triandis, 1990:42-3, cited in Cho et al., 1999:62).

Individualism is characterised by the view that people are 'I' conscious, self-actualization is important, and individuals' decisions are more important than group decisions. Collectivist cultures are opposite to individualist cultures. They are 'we' oriented, individual identities are shaped by the social system to which they belong and group decisions are more

important than individual decisions (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2004). United States, United Kingdom, most of the European countries are individualistic; Turkey, China, Japan, India and the Arabic Countries are collectivist countries.

According to Hofstede's individualism-collectivism dimension index score, Turkey has high collectivist score (Hofstede, 2004). Hofstede's country index scores on individualism and collectivism dimension remain a useful touchstone when explaining intercultural differences in marketing and advertising (Frith and Sengupta 1991 cited in Moon and Chan, 2005).

In global culture, countries with powerful economies affect the culture of less powerful economic countries, so there is a cultural transmission from individualistic to collectivistic countries. Individualism is mostly affected by industrialization and the modernization perspective claims that inter-generational dependencies should decrease; privacy, self-sufficiency, and self-actualization of the individuals are considered important (Kagitcibasi, 2002). This argument is challenged by Lin and Fu, (1990); Phalet and Schonplug (2001) who develop examples from Eastern countries where, despite industrialization, the expected individualism is not taking place in these cultural contexts (cited in Kagitcibasi, ,2002).

Since the 1980s a process of economic globalization in Turkey has had a huge impact on social life, local values and traditions has interacted with western values and western cultural patterns (Keyman and Koyuncu, 2005). Modernization brings individualistic indicators to Turkish culture. The increase of individualistic trends is apparent, especially in contrast to the collectivist culture previously found in Turkish family life (Kagitcibasi, 1982).

Advertising is also affected by the individualism/collectivism context of cultures. Individuality, the sense of being unique, independence, self-realization and benefits to one's own self all obtain a high value in advertisements that evidence an individualistic culture; interdependence, family, group well-being and group goals are dominant in advertising content that reflects collectivist cultures (Belk and Bryce, 1986; Han and Shavitt, 1994; Miracle et al., 1992; Mueller 1987 cited in Cho et al., 1999). In addition there are differences in collectivistic and individualistic appeals in adverts between American and Chinese and Korean advertisements. China and Korea advertisements emphasize on the appeals like in –group benefits, harmony, and family, whereas in American advertisements they use the appeals like benefits, preferences, personal success and independence (De Mooij, 2010).

On the contrary, “several past studies noted that both advertising content and practice in East Asian cultures are moving toward those of the West” (Belk and Bryce, 1986; Huang,

1995; Tse, Belk and Zhou 1989 cited in Cho et al., 1999:70). Others have suggested, however, that the apparent Westernization is only superficial and has not affected the core cultural values of Japan in any way (Fields, 1983; Jameson, 1984). In fact, there is even evidence of a revival of interest in traditional Japanese lifestyles (Kurita, 1983, cited in Belk and Pollay 1983:40). As a consequence of the dynamic nature of culture, the findings of these studies are changing and advertisers should always rely on fresh research to investigate cultures and values.

Some researchers have coded collectivist appeals such as *embeddedness, family, respect for elders, tradition* and *wisdom*, and have analyzed these under as indicators of conservatism (Schwartz, 1999 cited in Oyedele, et al., 2009). Conservatism has been used in some studies interchangeably with collectivism. *Individuality, independence, self-reliance, self-fulfilment, self-development, competition* (Cho et al., 1999); *family, embeddedness, respect for elderly, tradition, wisdom, hospitality* (Oyedele et al., 2009); *tradition, status, patriotism* (Cheng and Schweitzer, 1996); *independence, distinctive, self-respect, popular, affiliation, family, succorance* and *community* (Albers & Gelb, 1996) appeals are tested under the collectivism and individualism category in their research. In our study we analyzed Pollay's *affiliation, nurturance, succorance, community, family, independence, security, traditional, and wisdom* appeals in this category.

If the broad modernization thesis is true and Westernization can really affect core values within Turkish culture, we would expect to trace the collectivistic characteristic of the culture being replaced by indicators of a more individualistic society, especially after 1985.

Methodology

Quantitative content analysis method was used in this particular research. This method is most frequently applied in advertising research, especially exploring the appeals and values between different cultures or the transformation of cultures in a certain period of time. (Okazaki and Mueller, 2007).

Sampling

The research interrogated three product categories; service, food-beverage and personal hygienic. A restricted range of categories was chosen to achieve broad comparability over time, because some appeals may dominate in particular categories, and this additional variable would have posed an additional challenge to the reliability of the data. For example, a health appeal is relatively common in food and beverage advertising and far less so in relation to fashion, making cross-category or mixed-category comparisons difficult to assess. Cultural values have

much to do with product categories (Mueller, 1987; Chen and Schweitzer, 1996 and Chan, 1999).

In this research 571 unduplicated Turkish advertisements were collected from the years 1965, 1985, 2005 and 2014. The impact of the global economy in its contemporary format has increasingly been reflected in Turkish culture and social values since 1980s, when Turkey's shifted its economic structure to liberalism, therefore this study examines the appeals in advertising between the period 1965-2014. Each year of data represents a decade, which represents sufficient time to investigate value changes in the society.

Three different categories of mass circulation magazines were analysed; general interest, women's and cooking magazines. Service, personal hygienic and food advertisements are more commonly published in these type of magazines. The advertisements are collected from *Elele*, *Hayat* and *Ses* magazines in 1965, from *Elele* and *Nokta* magazines in 1985, from *Tempo* and *Aktuel* magazines in 2005 and from *Tempo*, *Sofra*, *Elele*, *Lezzet*, *Yesil Elma* in 2014.

These magazines are also largest circulation, best-selling magazines in the decades they were published. It was challenging to collect the advertisements from the same magazines over a longitudinal research spanning 49 years; some of the magazines ceased publication (*Hayat*, *Ses* and *Nokta*) and the researchers had to choose different magazines that had leading circulations in the time frame.

The sample concerned magazines from four years; 1965, 1985, 2005, and 2014, with broadly comparable sample sizes each year: from 1965 there were 137 advertisements; from 1985, 140; from 2005, 149; and from 2014, 145. Product categories were broadly equal, with around 50 advertisements randomly selected in every era. All the data was collected in Istanbul Beyazit State Library, and Middle East Technical University Library. The researchers took a photo of each advertisement to code and it took 15 days to collect the data in 2008 and 2014.

Coding Procedure

All 571 Turkish magazine ads were coded according to Pollay's value coding procedure (Pollay, 1984).

Pollay's coding procedure previously was successfully used in several cross-cultural advertising comparisons (Cheng and Schweitzer, 1996; Mueller, 1987; Wah 2005; Albers-Miller and Gelb, 1996; Emery and Tian, 2010; Mortimer and Grierson, 2010) or to explore the cultural values through advertising in single country (Chan, 1999; Shen, 2013).

To reduce the mistakes in coding, the researchers coded only four hours a day with 20 minutes break after each hour. The detailed coding manual was always in use by coders and coder had to check the appeals for each stage from the coding manual in order to minimise error.

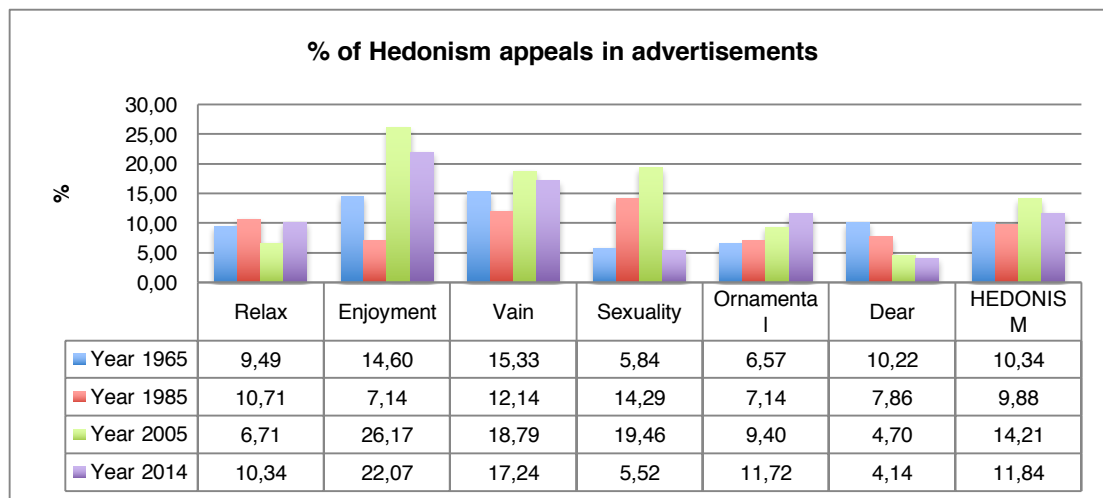
Reliability

Two Turkish national coders coded the advertisements; at least two coders need to participate in human-coding analysis (Neuendorf, 2002:142). The first coder coded 277 advertisements and the second coder coded 294, while to test inter-coder reliability 30% of advertisements were coded by both. To increase the reliability, two coders analysed selected subsamples randomly before actual coding begins, familiarized themselves with coding instructions and the definitions of the appeals and these samples were not used in the analysis (Neuendorf, 2002). Considerable training for coders tends to generate more reliable results (Pollay, 1983). In this practice session the coders worked on the appeals where the lowest level of agreement emerged and tried to find a common understanding to increase the reliability. Final inter-coder reliabilities are 93% for this data. This result is a relatively high level of agreement, which would be considered acceptable (Kassarjian, 1977; Neuendorf, 2002).

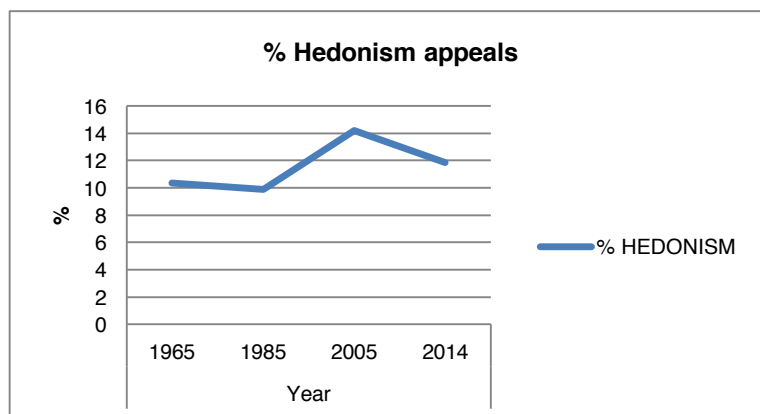
Results and Discussion

Hedonism in Turkey

A transmission of hedonistic values in Turkish magazine advertising is summarized between 1965-2014 (See Figure 1). Results subjected to a Chi-Square test reveal a significant increase in hedonistic values and especially “*Enjoyment*” ($p \leq 0.05$, $df = 3$), “*Sexuality*” ($p \leq 0.05$, $df = 3$) appeals occurs significantly more often in 2005. There is also an increase in “*Vain*” (18.79%) and “*Ornamental*” (9.40%) in the same era, although it is not significant. “*Dear*” appeals show consistent decline between 1965-2014.

Figure 1 Hedonism Appeals in Advertisements

Specifically between 2005-2014, an interesting and dramatic decrease is explored in hedonistic appeals (See Figure 2). Especially the decline in “Enjoyment” and “Sexuality” appeals exert a negative impact on hedonism generally. In the light of these findings hedonism is analyzed both with and without sexuality appeals. Hedonistic values are increasing rapidly between 1965-2005 and are only slowly increasing between 2005-2014 when the impact of a decline in sexuality appeals is excluded (See Figure 4). These findings clearly show that sexuality appeal has an impact in the decline of hedonism in Turkish magazine advertisements. When we developed a more detailed analysis across three product categories, and in different eras, sexuality appeals were found to be mostly positioned in food & beverage and personal hygienic product categories (See Figures 3 and 4).

Figure 2 Change in Hedonism Between 1965-2014

There were legal restrictions on imported alcoholic beverages until 1996, but after 1996 the import of alcoholic drinks became much easier and global alcoholic drinks producers began

to enter the Turkish market (8. 5 Yillik Kalkinma Planı, 2000). The relaxation in alcoholic drinks legislation can easily be observed in food and beverage category with 47.82% alcoholic drink advertisements and “enjoyment” (59.1%), “sexuality” (14%) are most common appeals in these advertisements. In 2013 the government banned all forms of advertising and promotion for alcoholic beverages (Resmi Gazete, 2013) therefore there are no alcoholic drink advertisements in the 2014 data, which accentuates the decrease in enjoyment and sexuality appeals.

Figure 3 Change in Hedonism between 1965 and 2014 according to Product Categories

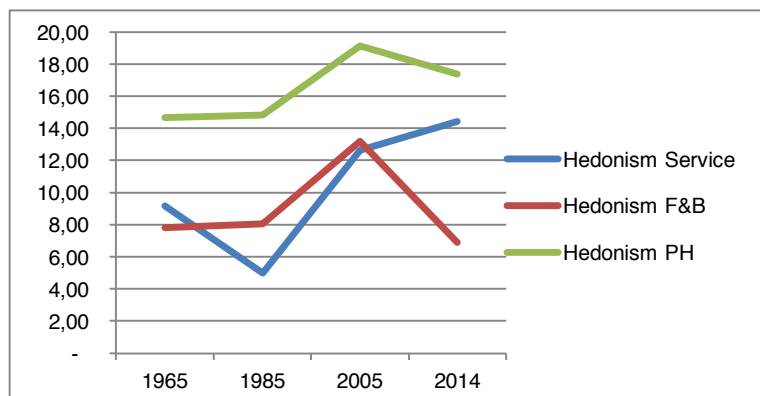
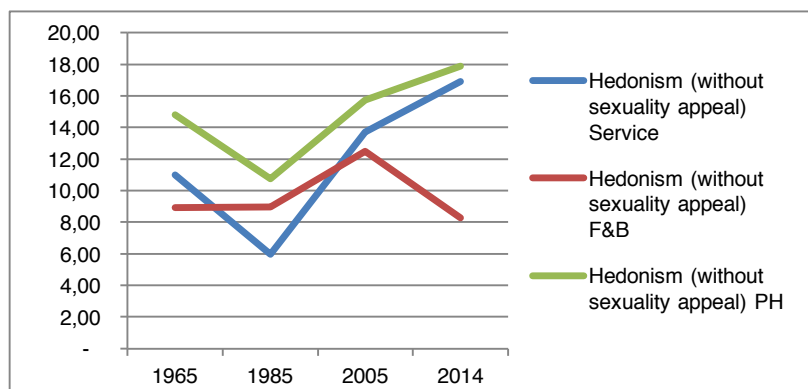


Figure 4 Change in Hedonism between 1965 and 2014 according to Product Categories without Sexuality



If the hedonistic values are interpreted without sexuality appeals, based on the discussion above, signs of Turkey’s economic growth increase between 1985-2014 and this can be easily understood from hedonistic values. In the past studies, researchers also found similar results. More hedonistic values in sub-Saharan African consumer markets, which paralleled settings where there was greater economic development (Oyedele et al., 2009). Hong Kong ads

used luxury, Western life-style, and enjoyment, promised an easier life, and attracted consumers through these types of appeal (Tse et al., 1989).

According to these results H1 is not supported. However the results show strong trends based on appeal; if we remove the sexuality appeal then the hypothesis is supported.

Utilitarian Values

In this hypothesis, the use of utilitarian values in Turkish advertisements between 1965-2014 is investigated (See Figure 5 and Figure 6). There is significant difference in “Convenient” appeal ($p \leq 0.05$, $df = 3$), and “Durable” ($p < 0.01$, $df = 3$) but no significant difference in the other appeals. Apart from “Convenient”, there is an increase in “Healthy”, “Effective”, “Durable”, “Technological” appeals but the increase is not significant (See Figure 5).

Figure 5: Utilitarian Appeals in Advertisements

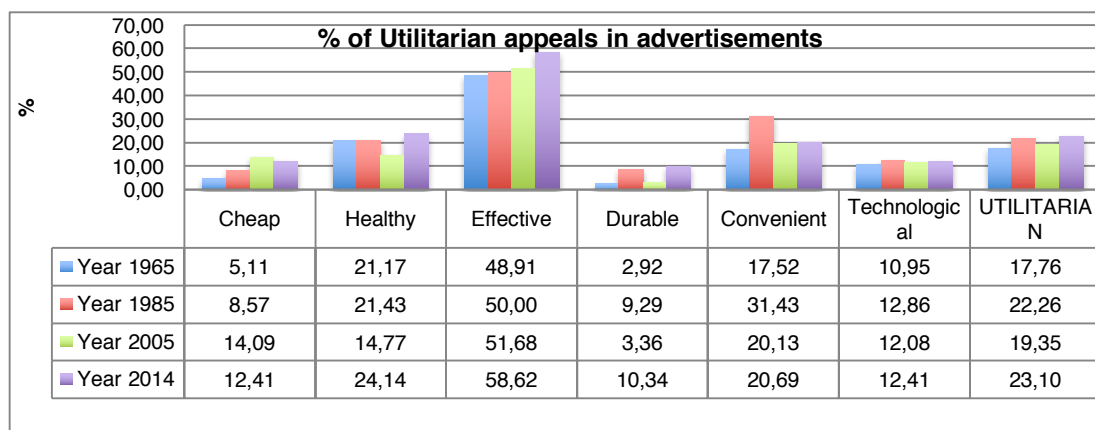
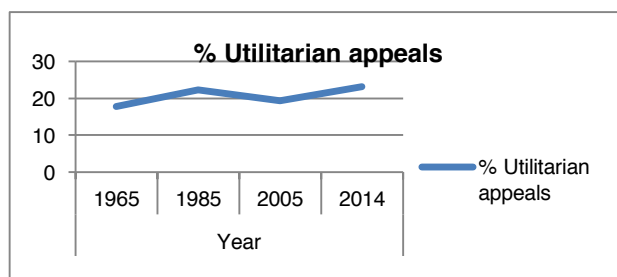


Figure 6: Change in Utilitarian Appeals between 1965-2014



Today, the Turkish economy remains somewhat volatile but with Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of \$718.2 billion in 2015 (World Bank, 2017), Turkey is the 17th largest

economy in the world (Statistic Times, 2017). Per capita income raised \$10.000 (The World Bank, 2015) but the minimum monthly wage is only \$503.50 (Bloomberg BNA, 2017). As before, there is a gulf in salary between blue and white-collar workers. This economic inequity in the society affects the advertising sector in Turkey such that they must produce advertising campaigns both for aspiring middle and upper middle-income consumers. Hence it is expected as a consequence that utilitarian values would be in play especially when advertisers target lower middle and middle income consumers because conveying the fundamental product features, or suggesting that the product is satisfying to purchase, remain important appeals for these social classes.

Utilitarian values are expected to decrease when the economic level rises but if there is inconsistency in the economy and a huge gap between salary levels, as in Turkey, then it is more usual to encounter utilitarian values in advertising aimed at a broad audience. According to the research results *hypothesis 2 is not supported*.

Individualism and Collectivism

The change in collectivism and individualism appeals in Turkish advertisements between 1965-2014 is also examined (See Figure 7 and Figure 8). While it is no surprise to encounter “Wisdom”, “Traditional”, “Family”, “Affiliation”, “Nurturance”, “Succorance” and “Community” in ways that reflect collectivism, we would expect to encounter “Security” and “Independence” more in individualistic cultures (See figure 7).

Figure 7 Individualism and Collectivism Appeals in Advertisements

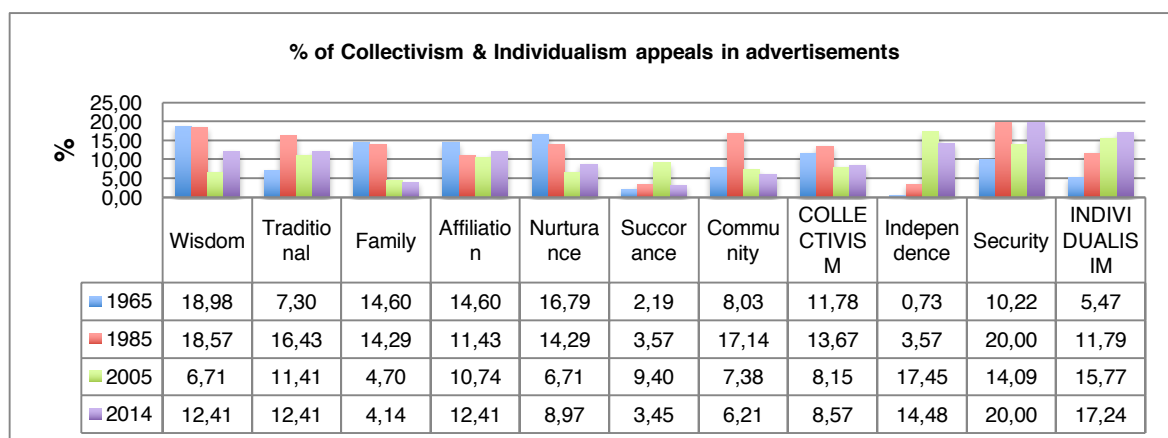
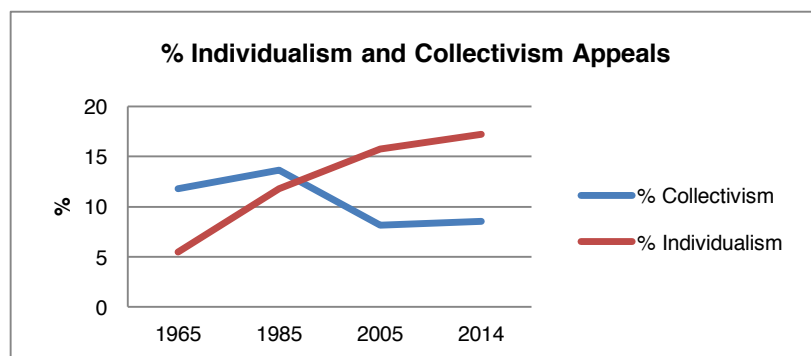


Figure 8 Change in Individualism and Collectivism Appeals between 1965-2014

There is significant difference in the appeals in “Wisdom” ($p < .01$, $df=3$), “Family” ($p < .01$, $df=3$) “Nurturance” ($p < .05$, $df=3$), “Succorance” ($p < .05$, $df=3$), “Community” ($p < .01$, $df=3$), “Family” ($p < .01$, $df=3$) and as well as “Independence” ($p < .001$, $df=3$). Between 1985-2005, “Wisdom” decreased from 518.57 to %6.71, “Traditional” decreased from %16.43 to %11.41, “Family” decreased from %14.29 to %4.70, “Nurturance” from %14.29 to %6.71 but after 2005 these appeals have started to gradually rise again (See Figure 7). The increase is slow, not reach the same level that was in 1985 but the recovery of these appeals still can be observed.

In 1980 Turkey had a coup d’etat and the society was reunited and restructured under military government. This offers a strong suggestion for the data attached to “Community” appeals, which dramatically increased to %17.4 in 1985, from a previous level of %8.03.

An increase in individualism ($p < .05$, $df=6$) in Turkish magazine advertisements is observed but not a significant decrease in collectivism ($p < .10$, $df=15$, see Figure 8). **Therefore, H3 is supported.**

Turkish culture was defined as a collectivist culture in Hofstede’s study (2004) and when we analyzed the individualism and collectivism in advertising during this study we found that Turkish culture is becoming more individualistic.

Conclusion

Advertising tries to change established values and support consumerised values. It also reflects the social values that persist in local cultures. Even in one single advertisement, these two facets of advertising can command our attention, yet the overall trend clearly defines Turkey as an established and acculturated site of globalised consumption. Within the broad sweep of Turkish advertising, this study suggests hedonistic values increased significantly between 1965-2005 but decreased in 2014.

Between 1965-2005, there is a significant difference in *Sexuality, Vain, and Enjoyment* appeals and also an increase in *Ornamental* appeal. This means culture is more open to those values and consumers are ready to accept them in their personal life and their society. Hedonistic values form an important motivation for Turkish consumers to consume for pleasure, and invites them to frame consumption as an enjoyable experience.

Therefore, between 2005-2014 there is an interesting change in Turkish society, which has emerged as data relating to hedonistic appeals. Hedonistic values persist as important for Turkish consumers but there is a dramatic decline in sexuality appeals. While the broad trend suggests a decline in hedonism, once the sexuality factor is removed from the data, the trend remains steady over the period. After 2005 sexuality is less used in magazine advertisements in Turkey.

Established literature suggests that economic development affects the evaluation of hedonistic values positively, but there is no significant increase in utilitarian values in Turkish magazine advertising. From our point of view these results can be explained by two factors:

- 1) The values we coded as utilitarian appeals *cheap, healthy, convenient, effective, technology* are very widespread appeals that can be used to promote any brand in these product categories, so utilitarian appeals assume a centrality within this study of advertising because the main purpose is to share information about the products.
- 2) Turkey is now a developed country and the economic development of Turkey is much advanced today when we compare it with 49 years ago. However there are still different economic social segments in the country and income level can be quite different between these economic segments. So, if the target group is a higher socio-economic class or higher middle class, hedonistic values can work well in promoting brands, while utilitarian values are still important for lower middle or lower social economic classes. Since the research is conducted using general interest, food and women magazines, which are not targeting elites or higher social classes, it did not categorize the socio-economic target groups of these advertisements and results did not reflect any differences in patterns of consumption, based on spending power. We should also consider the cultural legacy of economic uncertainty; Turkey's economy has a history of unpredictability, with several financial recessions in living memory, and it appears plausible that for some social classes utilitarian appeals speak to deep-rooted caution.

This study suggests that it has done so within a context that also continues to reflect less traditional appeals (wisdom, traditional, family nurturance, community), especially in 2005. Some of these appeals (wisdom, traditional, affiliation, and nurturance), which represent collectivism have started to recover in 2014 but it is not a significant increase. There is a significant change in security and independence appeals, which offers strong evidence that Turkey is becoming a more individualistic society.

Advertising cannot challenge the core values of a culture, since doing so would risk the positioning of the brand, placing it in tension with the culture of its intended consumers. That is why the recursive process of introducing and reflecting new values is a very slow, elaborate and uneven process; some new values are reflected quickly while others have changed little. Over 49 years, Turkey is revealed as more individualistic now than in the past but the pace of change is slow.

Advertisers and marketers who attempt to track social changes or to understand differences and similarities between different cultures, will usually conduct research among consumers. This is an expensive form of social research, especially if the aim is to compare consumer cultures in two regions, or across time. Since advertising mirrors social values, content analysis of advertisements reveals a picture of society. Content analysis of advertisements may, therefore, offer a cost-efficient way for small and medium enterprises or those with restricted research budgets to understand these same social changes.

Limitations and Future Research

In common with other research projects, this study has some limitations.

1. Magazine reader profiles reflect a generalised view of society, somewhat stratified according to readership. While this research selected magazines to form a picture of generalised Turkish culture, television commercials and newspaper advertisements can be also examined with the same aim.
2. In the future, researchers seeking to explore social change by developing this method can also analyze internet advertising, which can give us an idea about how values are reflected in a digitally-mediated world.

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